1:Baldus--ST E-6 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

and from December of the same year until May, 1940.

A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the influence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial. Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

1.Baldus--28 E-3 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

177 All these imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

177 From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually
787 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-136). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

• 164 The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced largely by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

177 The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people [821] knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost [731] nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [126] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

1:Baldus--38 E-6 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Iwaranhé and his wife. Then the expedition returned to Tampiitíua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacaru's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitíua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

10: Wagley E-8 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 304

of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão caused the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements closely combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads, and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign diseases (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign diseases acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilians culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948) p. 95 ff. See also Fernandes (1948).

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Manduvirá, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related